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Dictated by Mr. Cleveland

October 29, 1962

DECLARATION ON CUBA

The United States considers of the utmost importance the obligation undertaken in the United Nations Charter by all its Members to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations". Equally, members of the community of nations are bound to refrain from other forms of aggression or interference in the affairs of other states. On the basis of reciprocal respect for and observation of these principles, the United States confirms that such principles govern the relations between Cuba and the United States, and that the United States will not interfere with Cuba's territorial integrity or political independence.

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The Soviet representatives have never said in negotiations that Cuba prevented them from providing suitable safeguards in this form. If they reject it again on the ground that it is not contemplated by the agreement, we can counter once more with the request that they suggest suitable safeguards. Their suggestion, I assume, will be the familiar of one of reciprocal inspection of Cuba and the United States and the Caribbean. We can then turn that down on the ground that the safeguard contemplated was only to halt the further introduction of such weapons into Cuba.

We will then reach a deadlock, I suspect, but if that is inevitable anyway, you would have at least established your position clearly and explicitly and would, I think, have a better historical basis for refusing to issue the guarantee against invasion.

I had previously thought that if we did not have to make any public statement about continuing the overflights we could reach a tacit understanding with the Russians that they would have to continue. But I gather that your view is that reservation of the right to overfly must be included in some form in our declaration in the Security Council.

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The provision of your letter of October 27 is that the Soviet shall "undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons into Cuba".

The Soviet position is that the "suitable safeguards in the form of a UN presence in Cuba" are not in accordance with our agreement, because of Khrushchev's statement that inspection in Cuba must be with Cuba's consent.

Our position is that Khrushchev ^{did} would not object to your letter of October 27 which you subsequently declared (October 28) "as firm undertakings on part of both our governments".

Our difficulty arises over our insistence on an understanding ⁱⁿ and the declaration that we are going to continue the overflights in lieu of the UN presence. The Soviet cannot, I fear, accept any such public declaration of intention to violate Cuba's air space. Khrushchev's most recent message emphasizes this repeatedly.

In the circumstances I think the best ^{tactical} technical approach would be to include in our draft declaration a demand for safeguards in the form of UN observers in the ports, air fields, etc. (I don't have the exact language I submitted several days ago at hand)

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The United States further declares that, provided no nuclear weapons or other weapons systems capable of offensive use are present in, or reintroduced into Cuba, and provided Cuba does not invade or support an invasion of any other country, ~~in the Western Hemisphere~~, it will not invade Cuba or support an invasion of Cuba. This commitment is made by the United States on the understanding that, by reason of the inability of the United Nations to obtain the consents necessary to provide the arrangements contemplated to ^{ensure} ~~leave~~ the carrying out and continuation of the commitments in regard to the maintenance and introduction of such weapons systems in Cuba, the United States will, until such time as such arrangements can be effected, continue to employ such other ~~necessary~~ means of observation and verification ~~as~~ may be necessary. ~~E~~

The undertakings stated herein do not alter or impair the rights and obligations contained in the United Nations Charter or the Rio Pact to both of which the United States is a party.